

# A CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS STUDY OF PERSUASION IN THE LANGUAGE USED IN THE ELECTION CAMPAIGNS BY AMERICAN PARLIAMENTS

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## ABSTRACT

*Persuasion can be defined as an art and science which has a close connection with human daily life, From linguistics perspective, persuasion can be finish by using different devices which are called "**persuasive devices**". Scholars show that these persuasive devices are covered in different domain of life,*

*Scholars have defined persuasion in various methods according to communication . Persuasion is a communication process in which a communicator searches to draw out a desired response from his receiver.*

*In this paper there are different strategies of persuasion that are used by different people in different domains of life , How the strategies differ when it used in election parliament. The aim for this paper is that finding the strategies of persuasion that are used by different people and specifically in the election Campaigns and how they differ when they use persuasion in the Election Campaigns.*

*It is hypothesized that American use different strategies of persuasion in order to change the influence on the other by changing their beliefs, attitudes and so on.*

*In this paper , the researcher explains what is meant by the term "critical" , giving many definitions of discourse analysis according to different scholars . After that ,he elaborate the political discourse analysis and explain how it differs from critical discourse analysis.*

*Then ,he shows many definitions of persuasion with the strategies that are used to influence on the others.*

*After that, the researcher analyzed the data selected for this study which is the speeches of Hillary Clinton and Donald trump during the Election and then he discusses the results to arrive at conclusions*

## INTRODUCTION

The term "Critical" is used in order to show the connection like the connection between language, ideology and power. These connections may be hidden from people. According to Wodak and Meyer (2001) critical discourse analysis is concerned with analyzing opaque as well as transparent relationships of dominance, power and control. This means that the goal of critical discourse analysis is investigating the social inequality as it is expressed, signaled or constituted.

In 1990, Snyder and Higgins explain that political discourse is a domain of discourse analysis that is focused on discourse in political form like debates, speeches and hearings.

Wodak and Mayer (2009) interpret that the need for interdisciplinary work is emphasized by critical discourse analysis in order to gain the understanding of how language functions in constituting and transmitting knowledge. The study of critical discourse analysis requires the relationship between text, talk, society and finally culture.

After explaining the term "*political discourse analysis*", the researcher turns to the concept of critical discourse analysis (henceforth CDA). This term is defined according to different scholars, according to van Dijk (1998) who defined CDA as a domain that is concerned with studying and analyzing written and spoken texts to discover the discursive sources of power, dominance, inequality and bias.

## 2. A THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

### 2.1 Defining Critical Discourse

At the beginning, discourse means the actual instance of communicative action in the medium of language. Discourse can be defined with several meanings, according to Brown and Yule in 1983, discourse refers to any form of language in use so that it refers more specially to spoken language.

There is another meaning of discourse made by Stubbs in 1983 which the language above the sentence or above the clause.

Discourse can be used for particular significance that refers to particular context of language, it becomes similar to the concepts like genre or text type.

Foucault (1972, p. 49), demonstrates that discourse as "practices which systemically form the objects of which they speak".

At (1995), Burr develops the definition of Foucault and he defined discourse as a set of meaning, representation, metaphors, stories, statements and so on in some way together in order to produce version of events.

After explaining the term discourse according to different scholars, the researcher turns to explain the term discourse analysis according to different scholars. In 1983, Brown and Yule describe discourse analysis as how human use language in order to communicate with each other. In the same year Stubbs demonstrates discourse analysis as an attempt to study the organization of language above the sentence or above the clause then to study a large linguistic unit like conversational exchanges or written text.

According to (Richards, Platt and Webber, 1985, p. 84), define discourse analysis as "*the study of how sentences in spoken and written language form a larger meaningful units like paragraphs, conversational, and interview*".

According to Fairclough (1993 p. 135) demonstrates that CDA as

"discourse analysis which aims to systematically explore often opaque relationships of causality and determination between (a) discursive practices, events and texts, and (b) wider social and cultural structures, relations and processes; to investigate how such practices, events and texts arise out of and are ideologically shaped by relations of power and struggles over power; and to explore how the opacity of these relationships between discourse and society is itself a factor securing power and hegemony".

in the (1998), Van Dijk who defined Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) as a domain that is concerned with studying and analyzing written and spoken texts to

discover the discursive sources of power, dominance, inequality and bias.

## 2.2 Political Discourse Analysis

Politicians can be known as the group of people who are paid for their political activities, and who are being elected or appointed in the polity. The way that define political discourse is very different from the identification of medical, legal or educational discourse with the respective participants in the field of medicine, law or education and this is the easy part. However, crucial in political science and PDA like actors and authors of political discourse and other political practices, politicians are not the only participants in the domain of politics. From the interactional point of view of discourse analysis. It should also include the different recipients in political communicative events, like the public, the people, citizens, and other groups or categories. It is clear that the same is true for the definition of the field of media discourse that needs to emphases on its audiences. And also in medical, legal or educational discourse, It doesn't think only of participants like doctors, lawyers or teachers, but also of patients, defendants and students. Therefore, the identification of political discourse by its authors' is inadequate and must be extended to complex picture of all its relevant participants, whether or not these are involved in political discourse, or merely as recipients in one-way modes of communication. There is another complication that associated with the delimitation of the field of politics. It is clear that not only official or professional politics and politicians involved in the polity. Political activity and the political process also involve people as citizens and voters, people as members of pressure and issue groups, demonstrators and dissidents, and so on (Verba, et al., 1993).

All these groups and individuals may take part in the political process, and many of them are concerned in political discourse.

## 2.4 The Origin of Persuasion

The English word "*persuasion*" is derived from the Latin origin "*persuade*" that consists of the prefix "pre" which meaning "*through*" and "*sude*" that signifying

"*to urge or advice*" (Online Etymology Dictionary, 2010, p. 53).

## 2.5 Definitions of persuasion

There are many definitions of persuasion according to various scholars, all the definitions are relatively comparable in meaning.

According to Oliver (1986), persuasion can be defined as any type of discourse which influence the feeling, thoughts, and behavior.

This means that all speech is persuasive. The process of persuasion is complex because it refers to definite steps to be achieved like presentation, attention, comprehension, acceptance and retention (Pool and Frey, 1973, p. 221-222 and Prety and Brinol, 2008, p. 137).

One of the scholars who agrees with the idea of understanding persuasion as a process like Wilcox (2005), who says that persuasion is a complex, interactive process in which the persuader tries to effect the persuade to change a response. Likewise Heath (2006) who describes persuasion as a method in which the success of influence based on the way the receiver makes the significance of the message.

Abrams (1999) and Alire (2010) understand the debate surrounding the notion of persuasion. Persuasion can be defined not only as art but also as a science. It can be learned with having an innate and natural born skill.

The aim of persuasion is to change the person's beliefs, motivations, intentions or behaviors towards some events in the business that is done through by using written, spoken words or visual instruments in order to convey the feeling, the information or reasoning. In order to change the people's attitude or behavior, persuasion can be interpreted as using one's personal or positional resources. (Wikipedia.org/Persuasion).

According to Kritzer (2009), Finn and Rensburg (1983) illustrate persuasion as a domain of scientific research. The language of mathematics and statistics are tools of persuasion.

Some of the scholars like Power (1998) and Simons (2001) have relatively similar definitions of persuasions, Power (1998, p. 25) shows persuasion "as a process of motivating someone through communication to change particular attitude or behavior". Simons (2001), clarifies that persuasion studies a human communication which designed in order to influence the others by modifying their beliefs, values or attitudes.

The definitions of persuasion can be different from one to another depend the way that can be used to persuade. All the definition above are clear for us for how can we use persuasion in different domain of life.

All the definitions are relatively comparable. The researcher agrees with the definition of Power (1998) that is defined as a process of motivating, because the attitudes are different and the behavior is also different from one person to another.

## 2.6 What is a persuasion

When changing the response of the others, there is an influential and prime role in everyday life. Persuasion means a persuader's determination to persuade the others. There are some factors that influence in deciding which act is right and which act is wrong like gender, age, social rank and so on. Different strategies of persuasion are used for different purposes such as the using of companies and organizations of persuasion in order to get an advantage from the persuade, so that they try to persuade others to sell them a product, more election sounds.

## 2.7 Persuasion between past and present

Whalen (1996) says that the study of persuasion is not a new field, it can be found in old era.

The study of persuasion becomes one of the major source that fertilize history of persuasion research because it was shared rhetoric.

Carox (in 476 B.C.) was the first person who modify the rhetorical and persuasion (Dillard, 2009).

In the 18<sup>th</sup> century a great rhetorical works appeared and continued to the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century. According to

woolbart (1916), who argues about the development of new field "speech science" which breaks with humanistic traditions and scientific methods.

Perloff (2010), states that communication and persuasions are the modern turns which recently developed. It was found that there are a lot of things about persuasion like books, articles and so on. Persuasion becomes part of the contemporary life. However, in many companies, offices and departments, persuasion considers as an art which spent a lot of money in order to get their learn how to be a good persuasive persons.

## 2.8 Strategies of Persuasion

Various strategies of persuasion are used in order to achieve the process of persuasion.

There are six strategies of persuasion that Morris (2010) mentions it: *reciprocity, commitment and consistency, social proof, liking authority and scarcity*.

While it was mentioned that there are three strategies of persuasion according to Johnstone (1989): quasilogic, presentation and analogy. Vocabulary and structures are used by persuaders in the quasilogic strategy in order to create the rhetorical impression. In the presentation strategy, it is depended on the claim that being persuaded is being moved and being swept.

While the final strategy, which is the strategy of analogy. It is used in order to make similarity between the current issues and past events.

There are another strategies of persuasion that remained by Aristotle (2007). These strategies like the development of a logical argument that he called it "logos". The strategy which refers to the character of the speaker. He called this strategy "ethos".

The last strategy which is mentioned by Aristotle in order to refer to the appealing to emotions. The researcher discusses the strategies of persuasion by Aristotle in detail.

### 2.8.1. Logos which is also called logic

According to Lucas (2009) who explains that there are two elements that Aristotle points to as "*logos*". These elements are called **evidence** and **reasoning**. In order to make the speaker's claim persuader, these two elements are working together in a combination. Moreover, evidence is considered to be a complementary to reasoning, since reasoning is drawing a conclusion based on evidence. He explains that there are two major concerns with respect to reasoning.

- First : The speaker should make certainty that speaker's own reasoning is sound and
- Second: The speaker must try to make agree with his reasoning .
- **Ethos which is called character**

It is important to look upon the character of the speaker "*ethos*". According to Aristotle (2007) who identifies that there are three reasoning in order to be persuasive for a speaker : practical wisdom , virtue and good will . While in (2009) Lucas was added that ethos refers to the truthfulness which effects by two elements . Knowledge , sincerity and intelligence are factors which refer to the element of competence while the second element refers to the character which is about how speaker's sincerity , reputation and physical appearance regarded by the audience .

After that Lucas(2009) , demonstrates that credibility occur in the mind if the audience not in the mind of the speaker and it is changed by discourse . There are three kinds of credibility made by Lucas in 2009

- Initial credibility which is the credibility of the speaker before speaking.
- Derived credibility which is the credibility of the speaker produced during speech.
- Finally , terminal credibility which is the credibility of the speaker at the end of the speech.
- **Pathos which also called passion**

According to Thompson( 1998), who identifies pathos As the feelings or passions in which the speaker is conveyed . Passion is the work of the heart in order to demonstrates feelings ,sympathy or suffering.

In (2007), Aristotle takes part that the audience can be persuaded to feel emotions by the speech . He lists many of the emotions including : anger , calmness , friendly , feelings, fear , shame, pity, love goodwill and favor.

While Lucas (ibid) mentions some of the emotions that developed by the public speakers in the following

- Fear: The wrath of the God , the torture of the God
- Pride : The struggle of the children , the homeless of the people
- Pride : In one's children or in one's beliefs
- Anger : The anger of the God or the anger of the parents
- Guilt: The sins which was committed or the poor that no one help them.

The use of emotional expression is promoted by Aristotle , since it makes the feelings of the audience is shared with the feelings of the speakers . When audience shared similar feelings , the speaker shared charged language in order for persuasion in order to be successful (Larson, 2010).

### 2.9 Persuasive Devices

The persuasive devices are used in order to understand one's attention to the idea concerned and to obtain control over his reaction to what is said. There are many devices that are used in persuasion.

#### 2.9.1.Syntactic Devices

Crystal (2003, p.451) demonstrates that "syntax" is the study of the rules governing the way words are assembled to form sentences". Syntactic devices can be appear by the following:

### 2.9.1.1. Rhetorical Question

A rhetorical question can be defined a device which is used to persuade or subtly influence the audience. There is a fact that rhetorical question is a question asked for the sake of persuasive effect rather than as a request for information . It encourages the listener to think about what the answer to question must be (Abioy (2009).

There is another definition for rhetorical question made by Yule (2006), who describes rhetorical question as the question which has the form of question but affert something while DOWNING AND Lock (1992) refers to the rhetorical question in which the response is not expected but it is used in order to give comment or explanation ,On the other hand , Crystal(1999) , defines a rhetorical question as a sentence in its structure like a question but the speaker doesn't expect the answer.

- Who cares?  
It means there is no one care.

### There are many types of Rhetorical questions

- **Positive and Negative Rhetorical Questions** .These questions can take two forms either as wh questions or yes/no-questions. These questions take two forms which are the wh- questions and yes/no- questions. Leech and Svartivik (1975) state that positive wh- questions convey negative attitudes:

- *What differences does it make ?*

This example gives the meaning of a negative answer that it makes no difference while negative wh-questions convey positive attitudes

- *Who doesn't know that?*

**2. A tag question** : This type is used in order to check whether something is true or false and is also used in order to take the agreement of the listener .It occur at the end of the sentence and it is always short for example :

- *That is the school. Isn't it?*

Quirk and Greenbaum (1990,p.179) denote that the tag question consists of an operator and a pronoun and the super ordinate which determines the choice and the tense of the operator. The tag question will be negative if the super ordinate clause is positive and vice versa:

- *She likes her mother. Doesn't she?*

### 2.9.1.2. Ironical Rhetorical Questions

This type of rhetorical questions contains a great deal of sarcasm. These questions are usually funny and are not used to get an answer but to add a sense of humor.:

- *If a cow laugh hard, would milk come out of her nose?*

- *Do fish get thirsty? (www fun-stuff-to-do.Com) .*

### 2.9.2. Semantic Devices

Semantically, persuasive devices imply the following:

- **Simile**

This word is derived from a latin "similes" that means "like". It is a type of speech that one thing is linked another. For example:

- *His head and hair were white like wool.*

The use of simile is created a more interesting persuasive devices.

- **Metaphor**

Without using "as" or " like" , metaphor is used in a comparison. The difference between simile and metaphor is that the *simile* is an explicit comparison, while the *metaphor* is an implicit one. For example:

-*I am a rose of Sharon, a lily of the valleys.*

### 3. METONYMY

According to Cuddon (1998) who clarifies that metonymy can be defined as a kind of speech in which the name of a thing is replaced for the thing itself. For example:

- *You are the salt of the earth.*

#### 2.9.3. Phonological Devices

(Crystal, 2003, p. 350) explains the function of sounds in particular languages, phonology is the study of the sound systems of languages. phonological devices contain the following:

- **Alliteration**

McManus (1998, p. 623) identifies alliteration as “the repetition of the same sound at the beginning of two or more words to make one's speech notable, and promote his opinion. For example :

- *A soft tongue breaks bones.*

#### 2. Assonance

To excite a strong persuasive impact, assonance is the repetition of the same sounds in words near to each other (Cuddon, 1998, p.58). For example :

- *A greedy man trouble to his family.*

#### 3. Data Analysis

The researcher takes two main candidates (Hillary Clinton & Donald Trump) during the 2016 US presidential election result. The inauguration of the President of the United States is a ceremony which marks the commencement of a new four-year term of the President of the United States. During his 16-minute speech Trump addressed the American people promising them to put America First. While Hillary Clinton, After her losing in United States presidential election on November, 8th 2016, delivered an amazing and encouraging concession speech for all audiences around the world.

- **Data Collection**

The researcher takes the data for this paper from parts of the utterances in the speeches of the two main candidates (Hillary Clinton & Donald Trump), and the researcher selects the data in these speeches that contain Grammatical Function: Modals and Pronouns and rhetorical devices.

- **The Modal for Analysis**

The researcher takes the modal for the analysis of this paper is Lacus (2009) modal and the data selected from two candidates in American Election parliament. The data of this paper is the speeches of the two main candidates Hillary Clinton & Donald Trump during the 2016 US presidential election result which is taken from internet.

- **The Analysis of Date**

#### The Analysis Hillary Clinton 's concession speech

The researcher shows the data finding based on the analysis of the Hillary Clinton's concession speech. The speech duration was about 12 minutes and consisted of 1.172 words with 62 sentences. The researcher analysis part of the speech, found there were rhetorical devices which one of them is Repetition for Emphasis device that will help the writer or speaker to succeed make the audience keeps attention and gets his or her intention. According to Harris (2013) rhetorical devices are the aids for writing or speaking. People that master in using rhetorical device will put beauty and emphasis and effectiveness to their writing or speaking. Moreover, **Crystal, Robson and Stockwell** cited in Swerwani (2010) state rhetorical device depends on figurative language to express things that cannot be described in a realist way. So, rhetorical devices in public speaking, for example, will give a beautiful, emphasis or effective speech. Rhetorical devices also give the speaker a kind of freedom of thought and expression.

- **Repetition of Terminal Syllables**

**Alliteration**

Alliteration is an emphasis rhetorical device which repeats syllables of a clause or sentence.

**Extract 1**

*So now, our responsibility as citizens is to keep doing our part to build that better, stronger, fairer America we seek.*

From the extract above, the usage of comparative degree for three words that end up with „er“ indicates Hillary used alliteration to call the audience’s attention. Harris (2013,p. 44 ) also states, “the function of alliteration is to call attention to the phrase and fixes it in the audience's mind and it is useful for emphasis as well as art”. The three words „better, stronger, fairer“ remind the audience about the final pitch of Hillary’s campaign in North Carolina, before the election. As cited from CBS news (2016), in that time, Hillary urged her supporters to believe that, it was the right decision to vote her as the next United States president, then she elaborated the reasons. This time, after this loss, Hillary urged her supporters to get back to their each role as citizens of America to keep trying to build better, stronger and fairer America together.

**2. Repetition of Words****a. Anaphora**

Anaphora is an emphasis rhetorical device which repeats the front word or words.

**Extract 2**

*So my friends, let us have faith in each other, let us not grow weary, let us not lose heart, for there are more seasons to come and there is more work to do.*

The extract above is a great message from Hillary to all of her supporters. Through addressing triple „let us“ and twice „more“, Hillary wanted to command her supporters to directly move on from the heartbreaking loss then put forward the reasons. Hillary accurately used anaphora to reinforce

the idea to acknowledge this loss by faith and still continuing to do a good action for the future that still ahead of them. Hillary did not want them to stop now; she wanted her supporters to keep going. Actually, this part is the last minutes of her speech which also the conclusion of her messages to her beloved supporters .

**b. Diacope**

Diacope is an emphasis by repetition rhetorical devices. It repeats a preceding word or words. As Nichol (2011) states, “diacope is a repetition of one or more words after the interval of one or more words. It is used as a method for emphasis”. The following extract is the example of the using of diacope in Hillary Clinton concession speech.

**Extract 3**

*This loss hurts, but please never stop believing that fighting for what is right is worth it. It is, it is worth it.*

In this part, Hillary marked the phrase „worth it“ to the audiences. This is in line with Zimmer (2009) statement that, “in diacope the repeated words are emphasized”.

The emphasized phrase here is clearly describing the condition of what she and her supporters had been through, all struggles for the campaign. But Hillary also wanted all of her supporters and audiences in general, to still believing that the arduous way they face to the right purpose is never useless unless it will be always paid off. Moreover, Hillary is one of the examples for people especially women that never give up to fight for achieving their dreams.

**The Analysis of Donald Trump**

Trump’s inaugural speech during the ceremony held in Washington D. C. on January 21, 2017. The two functions of speech which will be analyzed here are the grammatical and textual functions.

**Grammatical Function: Modals and Pronouns**

- **Modality Analysis:**

The modal verb will is used mostly while talking about the future, it is the most frequent choice used to make



requests, promises, etc. (Thornburg 2004,p. 30-1,192-3). Must expresses necessity and is usually equivalent to am/is/are obliged. In the second person, it is used chiefly to express a command, or an insistent request or counsel. Considering the above definitions, it can be stated that the usage of the auxiliaries will and must are well justified in the President’s speech.

According to analysis , the auxiliary will is the most excessively used Modal in President Trump’s speech. This shows that the president focuses on future plans and is requesting American people to join his efforts for a better future for the country.

• **Pronoun Analysis:**

The personal pronoun is a grammatical form, a subcategory of the pronoun class, which itself represents a subcategory of noun. Personal pronouns function as the heads of pronoun phrases or noun phrases. They are words that take the place of common and proper nouns. (Huddleston ,1984).

Detecting the number of occurrences of personal pronouns in President Trump’s inaugural speech the President has used the personal pronouns I and me only 3 times, while he has used we and us 35 times. This shows that the President’s speech focuses on American

people (including himself) rather than only on himself. By this, he aims to share everything with American people. He believes in the power of unity and togetherness. Thus, his effort to make America great again depends more on the President in company with the American people.

As for possessive pronouns, they are pronouns that express possession or some other relationship to another word or phrase and can perform five functions in clauses: subject, subject complement, direct object, indirect object, and prepositional complement.

Moreover, the possessive pronoun is a subcategory of pronoun class which in its turn is a subcategory of the noun. Possessive pronouns function as the heads of pronoun phrases or noun phrases(Laurel & Brinton , 2010). Below is a table that shows the number of occurrences of the possessive pronouns in President Trump’s inaugural speech President has used the possessive pronoun my only once, while using your/yours 11 times and our/ours 38 times. This shows that the President uses the possessive pronouns your/yours and our/ours to reveal that he depends on American people in his effort of unity and making “America great again.”

Possessive pronouns	Number of usages in the president’s speech
<b>My (mine)</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>Our (ours)</b>	<b>38</b>
<b>Your (yours)</b>	<b>11</b>
<b>His (his)</b>	<b>-</b>
<b>Her (hers)</b>	<b>-</b>
<b>Its (its)</b>	<b>9</b>
<b>Their (theirs)</b>	<b>6</b>

Possessive pronouns
My (mine)
Our (ours)
Your (yours)
His (his)
(hers) Her
(its) Its
Their (theirs)

Donald Trump’s inaugural speech is the President’s first experience with the American people to give them a public speech; Mr. Trump wants to impress and convince the Americans that he and his team will effectively serve America in the best way possible. He says that he is ready to serve America and the Americans “with every breath” of his body.

The President’s inaugural speech is a good example to show that language makes links between itself and the situation to produce a text and the listener or reader can recognize one.

The text of the President’s speech which reveals conversational features is highly persuasive since the President is the one who is leading the talk, who chooses/changes the topics, and comments on what he says. He is the dominant participant who initiates the conversation, sets the agenda, and controls the topics.

Mr. Trump is able to convince his submissive participants who are following the set agenda of his speech. He is able to let them believe in him since he reveals the truth about the economic situation being bad. There has been terror and drugs, yet the President says we – he and his fellow citizens – together will make America great again.

**CONCLUSION**

This study has focus on the way that persuasion that is used in the election parliament . The researcher concludes that there are different strategies of persuasion in which it is used in order to influence on the others.

The study also has revealed that there are differences in linguistic features in using persuasion in parliament Election.

The data support the study was taken from the poltications of political discourse of the two main candidates (Hillary Clinton & Donald Trump) during the presidential Election result . To achieve this objective, this study analyzes their speeches the election. The result show that both of them uses different persuasive devices. To be more persuasive, it is discover that American prefer using metaphors in order to give a chance to the audience to come to the intended meaning naturally .

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